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Party of Germany



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The Advanced Socialist Society

The tasks facing the social sciences
after the Eighth Congress of the SED

Speech made at a meeting of social
scientists held in Berlin
on 14 October 1971


Contents

Kurt Hager

The Advanced Socialist Society

(The tasks facing the social sciences after the Eighth Congress of the SED)

The importance of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences	7
The unity of Marxism-Leninism	9
The growing role of the working class and its party	12
The allies of the working class	16
Advanced Socialist society	20
Socialism and Communism	24
The cooperation of the fraternal Socialist countries	27
Politics and economy	31
The value of history	38
The development of our Socialist culture	39
On the national question	42
Problems of the world revolutionary process	46
Our struggle against Maoism	51
Planning and management of the social sciences	53



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Dear comrades,

The Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has been widely welcomed by the working class and the other working people of the GDR, and there are good reasons for this approval. The resolutions of the Party Congress are fully in keeping with the interests of the people. The keynote of these resolutions was clearly and unmistakably formulated by Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee, when he said in his report: "We know only one aim, which permeates the entire policy of our party—to do everything for the wellbeing of man, for the happiness of the people, for the interests of the working class and all other working people. That is the essence of Socialism. That is what we are working and fighting for." ¹⁾

The resolutions of the Party Congress are marked by the determination to strengthen the GDR even more, and to go on improving the material and cultural living conditions of the people. They are meant to deepen the friendly alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states and to make a constructive contribution to the safeguarding of peace. They are aimed at constantly consolidating the unity of the world Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces.

¹⁾ Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, held by Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin 1971, p. 5.

The importance of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences

The Eighth Congress has made an important contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application to the concrete conditions prevailing in the GDR. It has provided an exact scientific definition of the present stage of development of the Socialist society in the GDR and stipulated the tasks for its further development. Such problems of the theory and practice of Socialism as the operation of the economic laws, the fulfilment of the main task of the 1971–1975 Five-Year Plan, the growing role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the national question, the unity of Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the education and culture of the members of a Socialist society—to mention just a few—were profoundly analysed in the report of the Central Committee. In doing so, the Party Congress generalized the theoretical findings and practical experience of the world revolutionary movement. In particular, it drew on the significant results achieved by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which mapped out the present and future tasks to be resolved by the Soviet people in building Communism. Our social scientists are now facing the task of analysing all aspects of the theoretical content of the Eighth Party Congress and exploiting it for the practical activity of our party. This is also the aim of today's conference.

The Eighth Party Congress attributed much importance to the theoretical and ideological work of the party. Ideological work will always be "the basis and chief content of our work"²⁾, as V. I. Lenin emphasized. The aim of the theoretical and ideological work of the party, founded on Marxism-Leninism, is the development of a Socialist type of man characterized by an unshakable Socialist world outlook, a comprehensive education and culture, and high political and moral values.

Unlike all preceding social systems Socialism is based on the conscious, planned work of the working people. This presupposes awareness of the objective laws of social development and their operation, leadership by the party, which is armed with the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, and the conscious commitment and creative initiative of the entire population.

²⁾ V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 11, p. 178.

In view of the growing complexity of social relations resulting, among other reasons, from the utilization of the scientific and technological revolution in an advanced Socialist society, Marxist-Leninist social scientists are facing many difficult problems. The party expects them to make an ever more significant contribution to the theoretical investigation of the qualitatively new phenomena of social development. They are confronted with the task of instilling in the members of the party and in all working people the knowledge and the conviction that our activities under what are frequently difficult conditions assume historic dimensions and have a deep meaning, that the path we have chosen is the right one—in short, they are expected to contribute to developing the Socialist world outlook among, and promoting the education of, the working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. This can only be accomplished in the course of the constant struggle against the bourgeois ideology and all kinds of revisionism whose attacks on our theory and world outlook are increasing as the world Socialist system and the entire world revolutionary movement are growing and achieving ever new successes in the struggle for the safeguarding of peace and as the GDR, too, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states, is strengthening its position.

In the past few years the social scientists and propagandists have made remarkable contributions to strengthening the GDR in all fields, thanks to the close connection between their work and the struggle of the working class and the work of the party. On the basis of the resolution the tasks of social sciences adopted by the Politburo on 22 October 1968 and other resolutions, too, we have succeeded in achieving a higher measure of concentration in research, and an increasing effectiveness of theoretical and ideological work. We are now able to state that the main tasks put forward in the October 1968 resolution have been largely fulfilled. On behalf of the Central Committee let me sincerely thank all social scientists and propagandists for the efforts made.

Our starting position for the continued research and teaching activities of our Marxist-Leninist social scientists is a solid one. The social scientists must take a direct part in the search for answers to all the questions arising in the life of our society. To this end, it is particularly necessary—and I should like to emphasize this demand

of the Eighth Party Congress—to raise the theoretical level of the work conducted in the social sciences.

The unity of Marxism-Leninism

Our party is guided, in all its work, by Marxism-Leninism, the most progressive revolutionary doctrine of our epoch. It is the unshakable basis of our theoretical and ideological work.

Marxism-Leninism is an integrated and harmonious system made up of dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific Communism. The Eighth Party Congress demanded that tendencies to belittle this integral character of Marxism-Leninism be counteracted, for the entire practical work of the working-class party, the strategy and tactics of its revolutionary struggle are based on this self-contained system.

We proceed from the fact that Marxism-Leninism as a whole is the philosophy of the working class and must, therefore, be studied and mastered in its entirety. One of the very reasons for its incomparable historical effectiveness is the logical, compelling integration of philosophical, economic and political views. Lenin emphasized that “Marx blended his philosophy and political economy into an *integral* materialist world outlook”.³⁾

The class content and scientific character of our world outlook are based to a very large extent on its unity. What is meant by analysing problems from the overall position of Marxism-Leninism? Let me stress, in particular, that any kind of wishful thinking is alien to dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism always proceeds from the objective laws of development and demands, as Frederick Engels put it, “to comprehend the real world—nature and history—just as it presents itself to everyone who approaches it free from preconceived idealist crotchets”.⁴⁾ Like the earlier 14th Plenary Session of our Central Committee, the Eighth Party Congress was distinguished by just such a realistic approach to the problems in accordance with the real conditions and requirements.

Engels called materialist dialectics “our best working tool and our sharpest weapon”⁵⁾. It must always be applied to the concrete

³⁾ V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 20, p. 193.

⁴⁾ Marx-Engels, Selected Works, p. 618.

⁵⁾ *ibid.*, p. 619.

analysis of the domestic situation in the GDR, the world revolutionary process and the international relations. It will save us from one-sidedness and subjective decisions, because it demands that all connections and inter-relations, all changes and contradictions in social development must be taken into consideration.

In spreading and studying our philosophy and world outlook we shall be able to make use of two valuable new books: "Introduction to Dialectical and Historical Materialism", published by Dietz Verlag publishers, which is also meant to serve as the textbook for civics instruction in classes 11 and 12 at secondary schools, and the Soviet textbook "Fundamental Questions of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" to be published shortly. It will be necessary, however, to write more textbooks on fundamental political knowledge, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, and scientific Communism.

We shall also have to devote a good deal of attention to the political economy of Socialism and capitalism. The point is to come to a deeper understanding of the economic laws and their operation. This is especially true of the basic economic law of Socialism and the law of planned proportional development of the national economy. Thorough knowledge of the economic laws of Socialism and of the policy of the party is a decisive condition for a high level of Socialist economic management and for the successful implementation of our economic policies. Economic education will contribute to further increasing the activity of our working people in fulfilling plans, practising Socialist rationalization and developing Socialist emulation.

As we all know, Marxism-Leninism is distinguished by the unity of theory and practice, of thought and deed. It is characteristic of the analysis of the Eighth Party Congress and also corresponds fully to the revolutionary, progressive character of our party that the study of the resolutions is being combined everywhere with the adoption and implementation of measures serving to put these resolutions into practice.

But this means at the same time that Marxist-Leninist theory must constantly be enriched and developed by summing up, and generalizing, the experience gathered in the struggle of the working class and all other working people under the leadership of the party.

The importance of materialist dialectics as the philosophical method of scientific cognition lies in the very fact that it proceeds

from the extremely manifold, contradictory development going on in nature, society and thought. Our knowledge develops on the basis of findings and achievements of science and social practice. Undoubtedly, our knowledge about the construction of Socialism is today more profound and comprehensive than it was twenty or even five years ago. Our party has grown, and it has collected much experience. It has always applied the yardstick of practical life to all its theoretical conclusions. It has assimilated the conclusions of Lenin's party, especially those drawn at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. All this has brought about an increasingly concrete interpretation of the content of categories already recognized earlier, helped us to overcome obsolete theoretical tenets and advance to a new, more thorough knowledge of the social processes and phenomena. This is the very reason why the demand is made on our social scientists and propagandists to devote more attention to analysing and solving those problems that are important for fulfilling the concrete tasks that confront us in building an advanced Socialist society in the GDR.

The creative development of Marxism-Leninism is always connected, in our view, with the consistent fight against all attempts to falsify the unity and purity of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and revise Marxism. We resolutely oppose the bourgeois ideologists and revisionists, who are directing their main attack at the unity of our world outlook, so as to destroy the revolutionary ideology of the working class, the theoretical foundations of the party. The struggle against all attempts to falsify the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin must always be an integral part of our ideological work.

Dialectical and historical materialism always proceed from the findings of science, from the experience gathered in the course of scientific and technological development, generalizing them in the process. It gives a positive assessment to the importance for the advancement of knowledge of new methods of scientific cognition, such as econometric methods. But the function of dialectical and historical materialism is seriously endangered if Marxist-Leninist philosophy is deprived of its character as a world outlook and quasi "de-ideologized" by the uncritical absorption of results and terms from various specialized sciences.

Dialectical and historical materialism cannot and must not be

replaced by individual sciences, or be turned into an appendix of such sciences. Dealing with such sciences as cybernetics, information theory, operations research (which are all necessary, for example, from the point of view of applied mathematics or concrete economic management) is indispensable, but must not lead to a situation where results and terms from these sciences become a substitute for Marxism-Leninism. We do not deny the importance of the various sciences dealing with such questions as systems and their structure, control and guidance, but for the management of all social processes under the conditions of building Socialism, for the pursuit of a revolutionary class struggle there can be only one science—Marxism-Leninism.

So in research and instruction we must develop the world outlook of the working class in its entirety. In particular, we must demonstrate and explain its dialectical, materialist and internationalist nature. Proceeding from the findings of dialectical and historical materialism, the Marxist philosophers, together with the other social scientists, are facing the task of giving more attention to researching notably the laws, characteristics and criteria of an advanced Socialist society under the concrete conditions prevailing at present. This implies that philosophical research must proceed, to a larger extent than hitherto, from the real processes of social life, from the concrete working and living conditions, from the contradictions that we are facing in building an advanced Socialist society, and from the demands of the class struggle. Only thus can dialectical and historical materialism enable the working class and all other working people to understand the manifold, complex and contradictory development processes in nature, society and human thought, provide them with a general view of things, and enable them to give their best efforts to the cause of Socialism with a deep inner conviction and with a firm strength of character.

The growing role of the working class and its party

The Eighth Party Congress stressed the role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in building an advanced Socialist society. Many questions are being asked on this subject.

We know that it is the historic merit of Marx and Engels to have

proved that the downfall of capitalism and the victory of Socialism are inevitable, and that it is the historic role and mission of the working class to be the gravedigger of the old capitalist society and the creator of a new, Socialist society. This thesis was aptly summarized by V. I. Lenin in the words that "the chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of Socialist society".⁶⁾

The successful development of the Soviet Union and the world Socialist system and the tremendous upswing of the class battles in the capitalist world prove the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis about the historic role of the working class and show the absurdity of all attacks on this basic thesis of Marxism-Leninism. While in the middle of the last century there were merely 10 million industrial workers throughout the world, their number had already risen to about 30 million at the time of the Great October Socialist Revolution when they heard the call of Lenin on all continents, and now the ranks of the international working class number more than 540 million. In other words, the percentage of workers has grown much faster than the total population of the world. At present the working class is producing three quarters of the world's gross social product. And statistics show that this growth continues unabatedly.⁷⁾

Thus, social practice refutes all bourgeois and revisionist theories about an alleged "lack of prospects" and the "disappearance" of the working class as a result of the scientific and technological revolution. On the contrary, the prognosis made by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that the working class is a constantly growing class whose growth is at the same time the basis of its constantly increasing social influence and of the fulfilment of its historic mission has found brilliant confirmation.

This does not, of course, prevent the monopolists and the ideologists in their pay from stepping up their efforts to win influence on the working class. For this reason, the implementation of the historic role of the working class increasingly depends on the development of its class consciousness. The analysis of social development made at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the tasks it laid down for the next few years have, therefore,

⁶⁾ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 582.

⁷⁾ Cf. T. Timofeyev, *The leading revolutionary force*. In: *Pravda*, 24 December 1968.

oriented social scientific research and instruction especially towards the problems posed by the continued implementation of the leading role of the working class.

The growing role of the working class is nowadays mainly the result of the fact that Socialism, the workers' and farmers' power determines the character of our epoch.

The experience gained in the historical development in the GDR also proves that the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party form the decisive, essential force. The most important reasons for this are that its class interests correspond to the objective requirements, that it is the most highly organized class, guided and educated by a Marxist-Leninist party, that it has the only scientific world outlook—Marxism-Leninism, that it is the class most closely linked up with Socialist public property creating the greater part of all material wealth, and finally that it represents the overwhelming majority of all working people as the strongest class in number. In our country, the percentage of workers and employees rose continually from 78.4 per cent in 1955 to 84.5 per cent in 1970.

The level of development of the working class shows up most clearly in its professional and educational standards. During the years of building our new society there has been a virtual upheaval in this field. Ever since the mid-fifties the proportion of skilled workers has doubled so that today every second production worker holds a skilled worker's certificate. In contrast, the number of unskilled workers, and even more so the number of semi-skilled workers, has constantly decreased so that in 1970 the proportion of unskilled workers was not more than 10 per cent.

The decisive role of the working class is reflected in the Socialist emulation and innovators' movements, and in the workers' initiative to make maximum use of the national wealth to take part in the planning and management of our national economy, to feel responsible for the continuous fulfilment of plans and to fight against all obstacles arising. In doing so the workers are more and more developing such qualities as a desire to achieve higher results, creativeness, unselfishness, responsibility, discipline, team spirit, thirst for learning, and not least the pride to be a worker. Thousands of innovators and heroes of labour have already emerged from their ranks. In 1970 alone 681,000 working people employed in the national economy submitted innovators' proposals. In the

same year, about 2.5 million members of production teams contested for the title "Team of Socialist Labour". It is here, in the sphere of production, that the further qualitative growth of the working class is mainly taking place.

The social responsibilities of the working class and their growing initiative are also borne out by the fact that approximately 57.4 per cent of all members of the People's Chamber, 60.4 per cent of the members of local assemblies, 75 per cent of the managers in the Socialist national economy, 82 per cent of the public prosecutors, 74 per cent of the judges, and 80 per cent of the officers of the National People's Army are recruited from the working class. Ever since the working class established its political power in the GDR the separation of the people from power, which is typical of capitalist society, has been abolished once and for all. Let us emphasize this point especially at the present moment when the elections for the People's Chamber and the country assemblies are being prepared.

The role of the working class as the ruling and leading class of Socialist society is growing as its political activity, knowledge and skills in mastering economic and technological processes increase and their intellectual and cultural standards rise.

Our social scientists have already made known to a broad public important findings and facts on the development of the working class. But in the light of present conditions these problems must be analysed even more profoundly, and more conclusions must be drawn for research work and the presentation of its results.

In research and instruction we should give much more emphasis to the internationalist character of the working class and its growing tasks in the class battle against imperialism. For today the international class struggle waged by the proletariat has become a vital condition for the existence of mankind. The preservation of peace and social progress mainly depend on the success of its struggle. The international working class is the only force able to assume leadership in the world-wide transition from capitalism to Socialism, its vanguard being the victorious working class of the Soviet Union, which inflicted the first defeat on imperialism and established the workers' and farmers' power.

An extremely important fact, which has thousandfold been borne out by history, is the knowledge that the leading role of the working class can only be realized through the activities of its Marxist-

Leninist party. The working class has the socio-political theory necessary for fulfilling its historic mission—Marxism-Leninism, and it has the leading force enabling it to translate this theory into practice—the revolutionary working-class party.

It is characteristic of the founders of Marxism-Leninism that they always regarded the party as part of the working class, as its most advanced section, as its vanguard, and acted accordingly. The dialectics of relations between the party and the working class lies in the fact that the working class brings forth the Marxist-Leninist party, while the latter is at the same time a precondition for the working class to fulfil its historic role. As it is growing in quantity and quality, the working class makes higher demands on the party and the leadership provided by it. Trustful consultation with the workers and all other working people guarantees that their intelligence and their suggestions are effectively utilized for advancing the cause of Socialism. We strictly adhere to the principle that the working class and all other working people must not only be taught, but that we must constantly learn from them, too. Thus, there is a direct connection between the growing role of the working class and the increasing leadership tasks facing its Marxist-Leninist party in building an advanced Socialist society.

The allies of the working class

The development of the social structure of our society has given rise to the question of who belongs to the working class. There are widely divergent opinions. If the term of "working class" were to cover only manual workers in the narrower sense of the term, one would negate the changes that have affected the structure of the working class as a result of the increasing proportion of non-manual labour. On the other hand, the idea that all intellectuals working in the nationally-owned sector are part of the working class ignores the essential differences between the working class and the intelligentsia, which are still existing, especially their different relationship to material production.

It is apparently necessary to proceed consistently from the Leninist definition of classes, i.e. from the position of a given class or stratum in Socialist production and their ensuing level of socialization and organization. In doing so, we must always take into con-

sideration that the criteria developed by Lenin must be applied in their entirety, in their mutual relations. As we know, V. I. Lenin wrote in "The great initiative": "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it."⁸⁾

As a Marxist, Lenin defined the classes according to objective criteria, namely those arising from the material class situation. It becomes clear, in doing so, that notwithstanding the same property relations (on principle)—national or cooperative ownership of the means of production—the different role of the classes in the social organization of labour, i.e. their different attitude towards Socialist production and the ensuing differences in the level of socialization and organization as well as the distribution relations, still result in essential differences, for example between the working class and the majority of the intelligentsia. These differences cannot simply be deleted by an act of the will. As I said, the working class is the most highly organized class, the class most closely linked to the national property, the class that creates the greater part of all material wealth through its physical and mental work in industry, building, transport, post and telecommunications, agriculture, and other fields. At the same time it is obvious that the intelligentsia itself has a heterogeneous structure. It ranges from working people who have graduated from universities and colleges before becoming involved with Socialist production to intellectuals working in fields that are comparatively remote from large-scale production.

Moreover, more attention should be given to the fact that we have here a problem of correctly determining the class structure of our society, which has nothing whatever to do with any terminological qualification, let alone political devaluation. To stick to our example: Those sections of the intelligentsia that cannot by any stretch of the imagination be identified with the working class for objective reasons are, of course, also Socialist working people enjoying a stable and respected position in our society.

The Eighth Party Congress has called on all allied classes and

⁸⁾ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 29, p. 421.

strata to bring their initiative into full play for the benefit of Socialist society.

The policy of alliance is one of the most important elements of the strategy and tactics of any Marxist-Leninist party. In this respect, the alliance of the working class with the working farmers assumes crucial importance. This alliance between workers and farmers is the key question in the struggle of the working class for power and for the constant consolidation of the positions attained.

The class of cooperative farmers has been consolidated in the GDR under the leadership of the working class. It is, and will always be, the main ally of the working class. The class of cooperative farmers, led by the working class and closely allied with it, takes an ever more conscious part in the management of the state, the economy and the entire social development of our country. Under these conditions the constant strengthening of the alliance between workers and farmers is an essential factor for the development of a highly productive industrialized Socialist agriculture, for the planned proportional development of our national economy and for the continued construction of Socialism.

The emphasis placed on the leading role of the working class does not mean belittling the importance of the intelligentsia for the construction of an advanced Socialist society. The essential feature, after all, is the fact that the Socialist intellectuals—largely recruited from the working class themselves—are closely connected with the working class. In Socialism, comradesly cooperation has superseded the isolation of a considerable proportion of the intelligentsia from the working class and the other working people typical of capitalism. The reason why the intelligentsia occupies an entirely new position and enjoys an ever higher prestige is because it is allied with the working class, strengthens the workers' and farmers' power through its creative work, and puts its knowledge and skills in the service of the people.

Together with, and led by, the working class, the class of cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia as well as their mutual alliance will also develop. In this connection we are guided by the experience of the Soviet working class and the CPSU, which were summarized at the Twenty-fourth Congress by Leonid Brezhnev in the following words: "The rapprochement of all classes and social strata, the development of the moral and political qualities of the Soviet people, and the consolidation of its social unity are based,

in this country, on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the social interests and Communist ideals of the *working class*.”⁹⁾

The rapprochement of the classes and strata is a characteristic feature of the development of Socialist society. Here, too, a clear, sober analysis is necessary. In the GDR there are still classes, there are still distinctions to be made and the interests of the various classes and strata differ to a certain extent. The process of rapprochement is not yet complete. It is still going on with Marxism-Leninism and the ideals of the working class as its underlying factors.

The process in which the ties between the working class and the class of cooperative farmers, the Socialist intelligentsia and other working strata are constantly being strengthened and extended was characterized at the Eighth Party Congress as the development of the political-moral unity of the people. There were good reasons for the Eighth Party Congress to renounce the term “Socialist community of man”, which had been frequently used before. The term “Socialist community of man” undoubtedly expresses the emergence of new social, human relationships, but when it is applied to the present stage of development of Socialist construction in the GDR, it is not scientifically precise, since it tends to blur the actually existing class differences and overestimate the actual level of rapprochement between the different classes and strata. It obscures the leading role of the working class, the necessity of a firm alliance with the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people as well as the survival of various elements of capitalism. The term does not do justice to the complex, contradictory and lengthy process marking the development of Socialist social relations. As Marx, Engels, and Lenin have always emphasized, a harmonious society, in which the birthmarks of capitalism have been fully removed from the conscience and behaviour of the people and the division of society into classes and social strata has been abolished, can only be achieved with the emergence of a Communist society.

Together with, and under the leadership of, the working class the alliance will continue to develop, and the political and moral unity of the people will be further consolidated. In this connection

⁹⁾ Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Twenty-fourth Party Congress given by L. I. Brezhnev, Moscow 1971, pp. 98 and 99 (transl. from the German).

we expect the Marxist-Leninist social scientists in all spheres to prepare joint analyses and theoretical statements on *how* the working class, as the wielder of political power and main productive force of Socialist society, develops its Socialist qualities; *how* it consolidates its comradely and friendly relations with the other working classes and strata especially in the field of Socialist labour, emulation and rationalization; *how* it continues to develop the spirit of Socialist internationalism in the process of economic integration; and *how* the scientific ideology of the working class permeates all spheres of social life.

Advanced Socialist society

The Eighth Party Congress dealt with fundamental problems of an advanced Socialist society in the spirit of creatively developing and applying Marxism-Leninism.

The views of our party on Socialist society have been enriched and deepened in the process of theoretical and practical work. After the victory of the Socialist production relations we decided, in our program adopted at the Sixth Party Congress, to begin the full-scale construction of Socialism. In the resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress we formulated the task of developing Socialism as a system, thus paying due attention to the overall connections between the various political, economic, social, cultural and ideological processes. The advanced Socialist society was first characterized in the program of the party and in the resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress. A thorough analysis of its intrinsic feature was then made at the Eighth Party Congress.

The building of an advanced Socialist society could be initiated in the 1960s, because the fundamental tasks of the transition period from capitalism to Socialism and the establishment of the foundations of the Socialist society had been largely fulfilled. The following characteristics of Socialist society had already emerged more or less clearly:

- the power of the working people, which is expressed in the leading role of the working class, and the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party in social development;
- social ownership of the means of production and, on this basis, the planned development of the entire national economy on the

- highest possible technological level in the interest of the well-being of the whole people;
- implementation of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work";
 - ideological education of the entire people in the spirit of scientific Communism, friendship with the peoples of the fraternal Socialist countries and the working people of the whole world;
 - a foreign policy based on the principles of proletarian, Socialist internationalism.¹⁰⁾

The terms "full-scale construction of Socialism", "advanced social system of Socialism" and "advanced Socialist society" virtually mean the same thing, viz. mature or advanced Socialism. The construction of Socialism makes it necessary to develop all fields of social life in a well-balanced and proportionate manner. The fact that the Eighth Party Congress abandoned the term "advanced social system of Socialism" does not mean that Socialism is not an aggregate of social relations. However, we must take the following into consideration:

It was in the Soviet Union that an advanced Socialist society was established for the first time. In other Socialist countries the full-scale building of such a society was begun in the course of the 1960s.

The present stage of development of the Socialist countries is correctly and unanimously described as that of an "advanced Socialist society" by the Marxist-Leninist theoreticians of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. So we are in full agreement with the collective wisdom of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the Socialist countries. This underlines once again the universal truth of Marxist-Leninist theory.

On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that in practice, especially in the economic field, the term "advanced social system of Socialism" often tended to obscure the exact meaning and content of our policy which was gradually buried under a host of terms taken from the systems theory. In some publications the notion of system was misused, and serious, solid scientific work was frequently replaced by an empty jingle of words. After all, what else could we call such expressions as "sub-system working class", "sub-system culture", "sub-system supplies", "complex-territorial system

¹⁰⁾ Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, *On Lenin's road*, Vol. 2, Berlin 1971, p. 619/620 (translated from the German).

of supplies", "multi-dimensionally structured total social subject, whose core and leading force is the working class"? We must not permit the essence of Socialism and the meaning of our actions to be hidden behind a veil of empty words.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism frequently underlined and explained the humanist character of Socialism. Engels regarded the "planned utilization and extension of the already existing enormous productive forces of all members of society", in Socialism as one of the essential conditions to ensure that "with uniform obligation to work the means for existence, for enjoying life, for the development and employment of all bodily and mental faculties will be available in an equal measure and in ever-increasing fulness".¹¹⁾ In his "Principles of Communism" he formulated the task of the new society, viz. "to ensure the satisfaction of the requirements of all, over and beyond the immediate requirements of the society, and to produce new requirements along with the means of satisfying them".¹²⁾ Lenin defined the essence of Socialism along the same lines: "Socialism alone will make possible the wide expansion of social production and distribution on scientific lines and their actual subordination to the aim of easing the lives of the working people and of improving their welfare as much as possible. Socialism alone can achieve this. And we know that it must achieve this, and in the understanding of this truth lies the whole complexity and the whole strength of Marxism".¹³⁾

The Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU, the congresses of our fraternal parties and the Eighth Congress of our own party have made important theoretical contributions to the advanced Socialist society. The main task adopted by the Eighth Party Congress makes it clear beyond any doubt that, in complete accordance with the statements made by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, all our efforts are centred around the human being, with all his material and intellectual requirements. We always combine the struggle for maximum labour productivity with the struggle for Socialist, i.e. humane, working and living conditions. This includes the further development of Socialist democracy, the continued reduction of the proportion of heavy manual labour, a well-organized supply system for workers, and a high level of culture at the place of work. These

¹¹⁾ Marx-Engels, *Selected Works*, pp. 70–71.

¹²⁾ Marx-Engels, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 4, p. 375 (German edition).

¹³⁾ V. I. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27, p. 411.

intrinsic features of Socialism must not be undermined by pseudo-scientific phrases.

We do not engage in economic activities for economy's sake, nor in technological activities for technology's sake. Man is not there to adapt to any systems, but all our actions are meant to serve man and the development among men. Any attempt to express the essence of Socialist society in terms of the cybernetic notion of the system will result in a positivist approach undermining the socio-economic and class content of Socialism.

For example, in an article about "Problems of controlling social sub-systems" we read: "According to the considerations submitted above we must, therefore, state that a production system consists of the following functional sub-systems:

- matter
- energy
- information
- ideology.

"In this constellation, the ideological sub-system . . . has the task of supplying the Socialist ideology to human beings in these three sub-systems and to itself."¹⁴⁾

Such considerations may be useful for those concerned with cybernetics or data processing. From the standpoint of historical materialism and the political economy of Socialism they boil down to a renunciation of the assessment of Socialist enterprises and their tasks from the angle of the working class.

These critical remarks are not directed against serious research in the fields of cybernetics, systems theory, econometric studies, and other branches of science. Socialist construction, scientific and technological progress make it imperative for us to organize a research work efficiently according to our possibilities, and to train highly skilled experts in these fields. Important as cybernetics and systems theory are, and will always be, we cannot, of course, tolerate the idea that they may supersede dialectical and historical materialism, the political economy of Socialism, scientific Communism or the Socialist science of management; nor can we tolerate the idea that they may be raised to an absolute status with the language of one special branch of science becoming the political language of the party. Otherwise the party would cease to be a Marxist-Leninist party.

¹⁴⁾ Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Technischen Universität Dresden, 1970, Vol. 19, p. 1412.

Socialism and Communism

The Eighth Party Congress has defined the historical position of the advanced Socialist society by stressing that there is no rigid boundary between Socialism and Communism which, as we know, are two phases of the Communist socio-economic formation.

One important task facing social scientists is to investigate the essence of Socialism, the stages of its development and especially the dialectics of the advanced Socialist society, which is subject to constant changes, to a constant growth toward perfection. It is a necessary step on the way to Communism, a period, in which the elements of Communism begin to emerge and are considerably and consciously increased as the class relations develop. It is the preparatory stage of the transition to a higher phase – Communist society, which will not, of course, be a rigid structure, either, but will be subject to constant change and development.

In his famous "Critique of the Gotha Program" Marx explained why there are two phases in the Communist socio-economic formation. Socialism and Communism have the following things in common: Socialist ownership of the means of production, abolition of the exploitation of man by man and of class antagonism, ever better satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people, development of their personalities and social relations, planned management of the society according to a collective will marked by the involvement of the whole working people, and the predominance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The basic economic law of Socialism is the motive power of development in both phases.

On the other hand, Socialism differs from Communism mainly in the fact that the social, economic and intellectual foundations of the new society are not yet fully developed. In Socialism there is no uniform social ownership of the means of production yet. The different forms of ownership imply differences in the development of the various social classes and strata, in their working and living conditions and way of life. For a historically rather long period differences continue to exist between towns and villages, between industrial and agricultural work, between mental work and physical labour. These differences go along with differences in the educational and cultural levels, in the requirements arising and also in the wages paid to satisfy these requirements. The development

of production has not yet reached a level high enough to ensure full satisfaction of the growing needs of the working people.

"The scientific distinction between Socialism and Communism is clear", V. I. Lenin wrote. "Insofar as the means of production become *common* property, the word 'Communism' is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that this is *not* complete Communism. . . . In its first phase, or first stage, Communism *cannot* as yet be fully mature economically and entirely free from traditions or vestiges of capitalism."¹⁵⁾

The fact that, in agreement with the classics of Marxism-Leninism and with the experience of the Soviet Union and our own experience, we regard Socialism as a phase of the uniform Communist socio-economic formation does not, however, signify that Socialism is something like a short transition stage. On the contrary, our experience in Socialist construction has taught us that the creation of a Socialist society in accordance with the specific conditions of a country may well be a prolonged process.

The term "advanced Socialist society" therefore assumes special importance for scientific Communism. It expresses the fact that at this stage of Socialist construction the main task is to guarantee a harmonious, well-balanced development in all spheres of society, with man and his requirements undisputedly in the centre of all efforts. At the same time, this term makes it clear that great efforts are required to achieve this goal.

The history of Socialism to date has borne out Lenin's statement that Socialism is not "something lifeless rigid, fixed once and for all", but that "*only* Socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life".¹⁶⁾

To be sure, we have accomplished much in our efforts to bring out the advantages of Socialism in every respect and constantly to increase its impact on history. However, it is just as obvious that much remains to be done, especially in view of the constant battle with the imperialists in the FRG, if the Socialist society is to be developed in a comprehensive manner. At the same time this process will result in the gradual development of elements of the higher

¹⁵⁾ V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 25, p. 471.

¹⁶⁾ *ibid.*, p. 472.

phase of Communist society, a process that is not free from complications and contradictions.

In the light of these statements about the Communist socio-economic formation it must be emphasized that the thesis according to which Socialism is a relatively independent socio-economic formation is untenable. This thesis tends to obscure the fact that Socialism is the initial, lower phase of the Communist socio-economic formation. It also obscures the fact, which has been historically proved by the example of the Soviet Union, that the advanced Socialist society gradually grows into the Communist society as a result of the development of Socialist production relations and of the material and technological basis of Socialist society.

The theory describing Socialism as a relatively independent social formation cannot, thus, be reconciled with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the transition from Socialism to Communism. As Socialism and Communism are two phases of a uniform socio-economic formation, which is created by the working class and all other working people under the leadership of the party, and as they have a common socio-economic basis, the transition from the lower formation to the higher one can only be accomplished through the gradual emergence and development of germs of Communism, through the full development of Socialism.

This undoubtedly requires a prolonged period of time and the solution of fundamental tasks. Addressing the Eighth Party Congress Comrade Brezhnev said that the Communist parties of the Socialist countries were "facing . . . tremendous and highly complex tasks in the construction of mature or advanced Socialism: They must decide on how best to combine the advantages of the Socialist system with the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; how to guarantee, on this basis, a high effectiveness and a planned, balanced development of the entire national economy and a significant increase of the national wealth; what forms to adopt in order to develop and deepen the formation of people's political consciousness; what methods to use for the continued creative development of Socialist democracy; and how to bring about a higher level in the cooperation of the fraternal Socialist countries."¹⁷⁾

¹⁷⁾ L. I. Brezhnev, Speech made at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Berlin 1971, p. 12 (transl. from the German).

The cooperation of the fraternal Socialist countries

Our party, in drafting its policy, has never lost sight of the aim of its struggle—to build a Communist society. At the same time it has formulated the concrete tasks of the various stages of our struggle on the basis of the level achieved. In doing so, it is keenly aware that Socialism is internationalist by nature.

The firm integration of the GDR in the community of Socialist states is the fundamental condition for the further implementation of the vital interests of the working class and all the working people. This was clearly expressed at the meeting of the general secretaries and first secretaries of the Communist and workers' parties of a number of Socialist countries with Soviet state and party leaders on the Crimea in August 1971 and at the Twenty-fifth Session of the Members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; and this was also convincingly explained at the Eighth Congress of our own party. As Socialism is internationalist by nature and as the advantages of Socialism can most rapidly and most effectively be brought into full play for the benefit of the working people in all fraternal countries by the pooling of their potential, the consolidation of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states guarantees the successful development of Socialism in the GDR just as in the other Socialist countries, too.

As far as we are concerned, the constant consolidation and deepening of our fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the USSR is a vital question, in the true sense of the word. It is the inexhaustible source of our power and our victories. This results from the pioneering role of the Soviet people as those who embarked first on the road to Communism, from the identity of our world outlook, the political power and the cultural and educational principles of the victorious working class, the theoretical and practical experience of the CPSU, proletarian internationalism, and the many sacrifices made by the Soviet people for the cause of freeing mankind from imperialism. This is not least a result of the vast potential of the USSR in terms of foreign policy, economy, science and military strength. We must make efforts to explain the role of the Soviet Union as the core and main force of the world Socialist system, as the centre of the world revolutionary movement in a concrete, convincing way that is understandable to everybody. In this way we will be up to the demands arising from the fundamental lesson of

history, viz. that the relations to the Soviet Union are the touchstone of adherence to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

While the general crisis of capitalism is deepening inexorably, the superiority of Socialism is becoming ever more evident. The Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU adopted an unprecedented program for raising the living standard of the people and ushered in a new stage in the advance of the Soviet Union on the road to Communism. Other Socialist countries have begun to build an advanced Socialist society. This higher stage of development has resulted in qualitatively new criteria for the competition going on between Socialism and imperialism.

In view of this state of affairs one of the foremost tasks facing social scientists is to give a diversified account of the successes, the huge power, the international influence and superiority of the Soviet Union and the world Socialist system in all spheres of social life. What has to be done is to establish even more comprehensively and convincingly the growing role of the Soviet Union and the entire world Socialist system as an objective factor determining the development of the international revolutionary process. The decisive role of the world Socialist system in the struggle against imperialism is notably manifested in its growing real influence on political developments in the world, and in the great attractiveness of the model provided by living Socialism.

We need concrete studies of the influence exerted by international Socialism on the other anti-imperialist trends. Most important of all, however, the results of such investigations and studies of the development and role of the world Socialist system ought to be used more promptly and extensively for effective ideological education. In this way we shall lend more impetus to the offensive of Marxism-Leninism, while at the same time constructively counteracting the bourgeois, social-democratic, anti-communist falsifications and defamations of living Socialism.

Our Socialist community of states has now entered a higher phase of economic, scientific and technological cooperation. This is an undisputed fact, which entails far-reaching consequences for our theoretical and practical work. As we know, the Twenty-fifth Session of the CMEA adopted a vast program for economic integration in the coming fifteen or twenty years. According to the spirit and character of this program our country has of late continued

to extend its links with the Soviet Union. We have also made arrangements with the Polish People's Republic, which correspond to the economic conditions of both countries and are in keeping with the long-term interests and with the advantages and problems of the two national economies and, thus, guarantee favourable solutions. The policy of economic integration manifest in such facts corresponds to the objective laws of the continued development of Socialism on an international scale. It is based on the principles of Socialist internationalism.

In this way it is clear that it would be futile to try and exploit this kind of integration to corroborate the theory of convergency. Its socio-economic nature, its short-term and long-term goals, the forms of its implementation and the consequences arising from it are unmistakably determined by the character of the Socialist social system. The new phase of economic cooperation has been prepared in the long years of cooperation within the CMEA. The practical experience and theoretical knowledge gained in the past have proved to be very valuable. On the other hand, the transition to a new stage of development, which is connected with the term "integration", has become possible and necessary as a result of a number of objective processes.

The scientific and technological potential of the members of CMEA has increased considerably. Agrarian states have developed into semi-industrial or industrial nations. This has also led to the establishment of a more solid basis for the division of labour and cooperation among the Socialist partners. At the same time many economic tasks we are facing have acquired dimensions which make it imperative for the GDR (and, for that matter, for all our fraternal states) to master them by way of mutual cooperation, especially through cooperation with the Soviet Union.

This is especially clear when we consider the demand that all our countries are confronted with, viz. to exploit the possibilities inherent in the scientific and technological revolution for the benefit of Socialism.

The growing degree of maturity of the productive forces, the increasing tempo of scientific and technological progress, the trend towards growing internationalization of economic life make it possible and necessary for our national economies increasingly to intensify their international division of labour. By the same token, the satisfaction of vital requirements of our people also depends

on the progress of economic cooperation within the Socialist community of states.

Finally, the necessity of pooling the economic forces of the Socialist community of states is underlined by the conditions of the class battle against imperialism. As we know, economy is one of the decisive battlefields in which this world-wide struggle is being fought. And the higher effectiveness of Socialism, which can and will result from economic integration, is an essential prerequisite of new victories.

Drawing the consequences for the continued social progress in the GDR, we come to the conclusion that the various steps of our domestic development are increasingly being influenced and promoted by the process of integration. The social processes going on in this country are influenced ever more deeply by the fact that the GDR develops as part of the Socialist community of states. In this way the development of our Socialist society and progressive integration are anything but separate processes to be understood and implemented independently from each other. They interpenetrate each other and are linked by an inseparable dialectical connection.

Naturally, we must inquire about our theoretical advance in this matter, too. This is not only true of the utilization of the economic laws on an international scale, which any planned practical policy must be based on, but we also expect our social scientists to provide considerable ideological help in this field. The efforts to achieve maximum economic effectiveness in all fields of the economy should always include and exhaust the possibilities of Socialist integration. This, however, presupposes increased understanding of its requirements and correlations. We are also taking into consideration in this connection that the stability or instability of our own economic planning and management will increasingly affect all our partner countries, too.

So far the GDR has concluded about 200 governmental agreements on cooperation in research and production with the CMEA countries, including about 40 such agreements with the Soviet Union alone. Even today, it is not exaggerated to state that nearly every enterprise in the German Democratic Republic is involved in this cooperation one way or other, influencing it through its effectiveness and the way it fulfils its contracts. This also shows the magnitude of the ideological efforts required.

Speaking of the successes and of the superiority of Socialism we

must not forget that the present world Socialist system is still a young and growing social organism, which is constantly being perfected and which presents many complex problems and contradictions. The ever closer ties linking the Socialist countries are based on the Socialist social system and on the identity of the fundamental interests and aims of the peoples concerned. Provided the Marxist-Leninist parties pursue a correct policy, it will also be possible in this respect to overcome the difficulties arising from the differences and particularities of the situation in the various countries.

The central theoretical and practical problem arising in this connection is that of correctly combining *international* and *national* considerations. Proceeding from the fundamental tasks of the struggle to impose the new order and the role and responsibility of the Socialist countries in the historic battle between imperialism and Socialism, the policy of proletarian internationalism gives priority to the general interests, the main interests of the world Socialist system, the overall aims in the struggle for the world-wide victory of Socialism, while at the same time ensuring full respect of the national interests of the peoples. In our ideological activities, more than in any other field of work, we always proceed from the identity and unity of Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. After all, the prosperity of our Socialist homeland, the German Democratic Republic, is inseparably linked up with the continued consolidation of the Socialist community of states, especially with the firm and unshakable friendship with the Soviet Union. At the same time the GDR, with its own efforts, contributes to this consolidation and, thus, to the continued transformation of the balance of forces in favour of Socialism.

Politics and economy

Let us now analyse a few other problems of economics. The tasks facing economic research can only be solved if the economic theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the experience of the CPSU and the findings of Soviet science as well as our own experience and knowledge are exploited even more thoroughly. The consolidation of fundamental Marxist-Leninist theses, more than anything else, is necessary to find safe, scientifically-based, effective and practical

solutions for the continued development of our Socialist economy. It seems to me that the political economists of Socialism, as indeed all economists, have still a lot to learn from the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

It is indispensable for the theory as well as for social practice to come to a considerably deeper scientific understanding of the economic laws of Socialism and their concrete operation. In doing so, we shall be creating better conditions for a strictly scientific approach to their objective requirements in the continued economic development of Socialism. The result of our economic activities depends to a large extent both on the degree of our knowledge of the economic laws and their concrete operation and on the way we apply reliable and effective forms and methods of utilizing them. For this reason, economic research should be concentrated on such problems as thorough investigation into the functioning of the economic laws of Socialism, and revelation of their interrelations and interdependencies and of the requirements of the basic economic law and the law of the planned proportional development of the national economy within the entire framework of economic laws. This will at the same time be a necessary contribution to the theoretical foundations of the further development of Marxist-Leninist economics as a whole.

In research and practice, we must consistently proceed from the objective requirements of the economic laws of Socialism. Scientific analysis of the economic laws and their concrete operation, and the strictly scientific study of their requirements are the basis on which work in all branches of economics just like any successful economic policy should be founded. Of course we are not advocating a tedious repetition of the definitions of laws; we are interested in their objective functioning and their requirements under the conditions of an advanced Socialist society, taking the real situation of our country into consideration. In other words: we need more preparatory work in terms of scientifically-based, reliable forms and methods of exploiting the economic laws for the continued effective development of Socialist economics.

Our responsible work in the economic field is always based on the interrelations between politics and economy. In this respect, we are guided by the fundamental theses of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism which say, most importantly of all, that politics is the most concentrated expression of economy and holds the primary

place in this interrelationship. Lenin wrote that "to argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism".¹⁸⁾

Our own social development has borne out these findings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Everything we have created in the GDR in the course of more than two decades owes its existence to the fact that the working class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party has seized and continuously consolidated political power, given all the working people successful political leadership and oriented them towards the solution of the economic tasks. In doing so, we have—to say it in the words of Lenin—approached the matter in a politically correct manner, have maintained the political rule of the working class and solved the tasks of social production step by step for the benefit of the working people.

The art of leadership by the party consists in the scientific prediction of social development, in the adoption of correct decisions, in the discussion of important questions of social development with all strata of the people, and in the consolidation of the Socialist political consciousness of the working people. As the economy is the most important sphere of social life, and as the material means for satisfying social and individual requirements to an ever better extent are created in the field of production, it is only logical that this sphere should be subject to especially careful leadership by the party. The tempo of economic development, the effectiveness of production processes and the stability of the Socialist planned economy determine social progress as a whole. For this reason the central bodies of the party are devoting so much creativeness, energy and initiative to the solution of the economic, scientific and technological tasks, just as every single party branch is giving so much attention to this subject. For this reason the continued development of the science of Socialist management is extremely important. I prefer the term "science of Socialist management" to "Marxist-Leninist theory of organization", since in my view the real task is management, which includes the organization of work and embraces all aspects of leadership by the party.

The Eighth Party Congress formulated the basic preoccupations and the content of the policy pursued by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: "... to make the Socialist society more and more per-

¹⁸⁾ V. I. Lenin, *Coil. Works*, Vol. 32, p. 83.

fect with the help of all people, . . . for all people of this country".¹⁹⁾ It was on the basis of this fundamental statement, which is in keeping with the essence of Socialism that the main task of the 1971 to 1975 Five-Year Plan was formulated. It was stated at the Party Congress that the main task was nothing short of a veritable economic program. It may even be said that the main economic task also signified a program for theoretical work in the field of political economy.

In this way it is justified to say that the main task, which is derived from the fundamental economic law of Socialism, represents the decisive starting point for both theory and practice. We should never forget in this connection that the aim formulated in the main task corresponds to the essence of Socialism, while at the same time pointing out the road towards this goal which is an inseparable aspect of the main task. We shall only act for the benefit of people in a Socialist society if we create all conditions necessary for improving the living standard of the working people—not only today but in the future, too.

In all this, we must always be aware that the advantages of the Socialist system cannot be restricted to the growth rates of production and other economic criteria. Our Socialist society cannot be assessed exclusively from the consumers' point of view. Its importance for man, and its international attractiveness are also based on essential moral, philosophical and cultural values influencing the qualitative aspect of life—values that are characteristic of the Socialist order alone. They cannot be exactly measured but they contribute considerably to giving people a sense of safety, a feeling of dignity, and the energy to solve all the great tasks they are facing.

The Second Session of the Central Committee has reaffirmed our view that the fundamental economic law is not just a general statement of our intentions made for propaganda purposes, but an objectively functioning law, the implementation of which we must promote with all means at our disposal and under the leadership of our party. Any violation of this law—even more than the violation of other economic laws—will result in economic or political friction. Every stage of Socialist construction is marked by a specific relationship between production and consumption. This relationship

¹⁹⁾ Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany given by Comrade Erich Honecker, p. 105.

depends on various factors and, of course, it is most strongly influenced by the level of labour productivity.

Socialism has the inherent possibility to guarantee a steadily increasing labour productivity. This means that Socialist economy is free from objective obstacles hampering the steady increase of labour productivity and the effectiveness of social labour. But this does not imply that the effectiveness of work will grow automatically. Avoidable factors may occur that under certain conditions will temporarily hinder the growth of the effectiveness of social production. It is objectively necessary to improve the methods of economic management, the methods of planning and management. The aim of these methods is to bring the advantages of Socialism into full play and to guarantee an increasing effectiveness of social production, which is the most important means of achieving a systematic increase in the material wealth of the people.

The fundamental connection between production and consumption rules out any separation between the end and the means that characterize the content of the main task. Lenin repeatedly and succinctly explained the means for reaching the goal of Socialist production, which in his view are "an enormous increase in the productive forces of society and in the output of manufactured goods".²⁰⁾

The present level of our economy, the volume of production make it imperative to give maximum attention to consistent Socialist intensification. Economic reason forces us to tap all economic reserves through Socialist rationalization and to utilize them fully for intensifying social production.

One of the key tasks of economics is thorough investigation into the problems arising from the intensification of social production. In doing so, we must not tolerate any watering down of this task which was set by the Eighth Party Congress. Every political economist, every economist must be fully conscious of the significance and seriousness of this task.

The Eighth Party Congress has also stated that continued Socialist intensification is the main line in agriculture, too. Socialist intensification, systematic transition to industrialized methods of production and the development of contractual cooperation in agriculture form a unity.

²⁰⁾ V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 33, pp. 188-189.

Only in this way will it be possible to guarantee a sufficient increase in agricultural output. The objective processes of social development that have matured in the countryside—for example, in the type I and type II cooperative farms—and the task of overcoming the differences in the level of production can, likewise, only be solved through contractual cooperation in accordance with the main task of the Five-Year Plan. Social scientists must also devote their attention to the continued investigation of these processes.

Consistent intensification cannot be separated from the demand of the Eighth Party Congress to combine the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of our Socialist economic system. The fundamental theses of Marxism-Leninism concerning the dialectical relations between productive forces and production relations are among the indispensable starting points from which we must proceed in trying to find an answer to the question of how this combination between Socialism and the scientific and technological revolution can be realized. Speaking of the advantages of Socialism in the solution of the tasks connected with the scientific and technological revolution we must mention the most important advantages. They are:

Firstly, the political rule of the working class and the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party in state and in society, which guarantee that the scientific and technological revolution will result in a tremendous upswing of the productive forces in the interest of the working people.

Secondly, the Socialist ownership of the principal means of production, on the basis of which science and production are planned in the interest of the working people and with the aim of achieving maximum effectiveness,

Thirdly, the creativeness and initiative of the working class, the cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other working people for the fulfilment of the tasks in science and production.

The advantage of our social order, which is founded on the conscious organization of all social processes, on Socialist planned economy, is always connected organically with one decisive advantage: the creative activity of the working class and all other working people. As Lenin put it, it is the "mass advance to a greater productivity of labour"²¹⁾ that guarantees the superiority of our

²¹⁾ V. I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Vol. 27, p. 248.

system. One of the most important tasks facing our social scientists is the careful study and generalization of this mass initiative, the effort to open up new channels and more room for it. This involves mainly the questions of improving planning and management, the decisive purpose of which has always been, in the view of our party, to enable the working people to take an active part in planning and management. And this also involves questions of scientific and technological policies, the stipulation of realistic aims, trends, development stages, and differentiated forms of implementing scientific and technological progress ensuring that the working class, together with the intelligentsia, is the conscious, active driving force behind this process, and guaranteeing a harmonious development of society.

A decisive advantage is the possibility of making maximum use of new technological achievements for the improvement of the working and living conditions, for increasing the proportion of creative elements in the various working processes, and for improving information of the working people.

Combining the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of our Socialist economy is a social process in which the aims, motives and ways of implementation are determined by the specific social relations, by the real social conditions. There is no other way for us to advance. Any tendencies to approach these questions in a technocratic manner would have a paralyzing effect, for they will invariably result in our most valuable asset being wasted—the creative activity of our people.

Fulfilment of the growing tasks in research and development is one of the most important conditions for steady economic progress, for a rapid and stable development of our economy.

If the basic idea (which has become a slogan as well) that science should increasingly be used as a productive force is to be put into practice, it is necessary to ensure effective planning and management of the scientific processes, concentration of the available means and manpower, and not least close cooperation in science and production with the USSR and the other Socialist countries. The vast program for the continued deepening and improvement of cooperation and the development of economic integration between the CMEA members adopted at the Twenty-fifth Session of the Council has provided a concrete, if exacting, schedule of joint research projects, which we shall do our utmost to help fulfil.

The value of history

Building an advanced Socialist society requires active Socialist personalities, people who have a clear idea of social connections and who, as Lenin emphasized, act not only as representatives of their enterprises but of their state as well. In clarifying the real historical relations, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook directs the activities of the people not to unrealistic dreams but to the tasks which must of necessity be solved.

Sociological opinion polls have confirmed the great interest among the various strata of the country's population in fundamental problems and events of history. The movement for the preservation of the revolutionary traditions of the German and international working-class movement sponsored by the Free German Youth organization provides abundant proof of the fact that the explanation of historical experiences and lessons has a highly mobilizing effect if it corresponds to the given level of political consciousness. The propagation of the military traditions of the German and international working class, which has been stepped up in recent years, has promoted the population's awareness of the need to defend its achievements militarily if necessary. These few examples may suffice to show the significant influence that a correct interpretation of historical processes has on the further spreading of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook among the working class and the other working people.

Social scientists, especially historians, must make use of every opportunity to prove, in a matter-of-fact manner, why all great humanistic and progressive ideas in German history can be put into practice and turned to account for development of society only under the conditions of working class power in the GDR. The Socialist German Democratic Republic is the only legitimate heir to all the valuable assets the German people has ever brought forth in the course of its long and eventful history. It is carrying on all great achievements made in the past.

The deep respect Marxist-Leninists have for the legacy of the past also requires a strictly scientific, i.e. differentiated, approach to this legacy. Though it will continue to be very important to open up all the vast treasures of our humanistic legacy, we shall always have to bear in mind that the great revolutionary traditions connected with the struggle of the masses against exploitation and suppress-

sion are of special importance to us. After all, are we not lucky enough to have a tremendous reservoir of new traditions that have arisen in the struggle of the working class and its allies for abolishing the rule of imperialism, for building and developing Socialism? This reservoir has not by far been exhausted. It will be necessary for us to multiply our efforts to exploit, and incorporate into the intellectual life of our Socialist country, this very legacy that has grown out of the struggle of the working class—both the German and the international working class—and especially out of the history of the CPSU.

The development of our Socialist culture

The report to the Eighth Party Congress stated that “conditions in our country, the relations among people, their thoughts and their activities, the intellectual and moral atmosphere are influenced more and more profoundly by the principles of Socialism”.²²⁾ Socialist culture has had an important share in this development, and this role will doubtlessly continue to increase in the next few years. The development of Socialist culture is a complex process, which is closely linked up with other important social processes, such as scientific and technological progress, the changing character of labour, the development of the social classes and strata, the narrowing gap between industrial and agricultural work, between mental and physical work, and so on. The advantages of Socialism will become ever more evident with regard to the intellectual shaping of Socialist man and to the development of a Socialist national culture.

A new stage of the Socialist cultural revolution was ushered in when the foundations of an advanced Socialist society were laid. Now its laws must be investigated under the new historic conditions and in connection with the development of society as a whole. In doing so, we must always be aware of the fact that our attention will have to be devoted to quite elementary everyday questions of cultural development, in addition to the new cultural requirements.

Those are questions related to the culture of labour and culture

²²⁾ Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, given by Comrade Erich Honecker, p. 33.

at the place of work, the outward appearance of towns and villages, culture in human relations in all fields of social and personal life, aesthetic questions, and other things. We are quite serious when we postulate that all aspects of life in Socialism must be imbued with culture. Like in all Socialist countries, we are experiencing in the GDR a steady rise in the cultural and educational level of workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and other social strata. What we need is more analyses and sociological studies on the intellectual and cultural interests and requirements and their satisfaction, because these are a significant qualitative feature of the developing political-ideological unity of our people in its various forms. In this connection, we do not overlook the contradictions still existing in the development of intellectual and cultural life among the various strata of the population.

The development of cultural requirements and habits, just as that of Socialist ideology and social consciousness, is still unbalanced even in the conditions of an advanced Socialist society. This applies not only to the differences in the educational level of the various strata, which have not yet been overcome, but also to their ideological and cultural level, which is still quite different, even at the present level of Socialist society. The vestiges of the past have proved to be especially tenacious in cultural life and cultural habits, in human relations and ethical behaviour. The higher level of maturity marking Socialist labour and an improved general and professional education do not automatically result in a deepening of Socialist ideology and of culture of Socialist man. After all, it is a fact that cultural requirements are satisfied, to a not insignificant extent, from sources that cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called sources of humanism or of Socialist ideology and culture. Nor can it be denied that the imperialists are making great efforts especially in the cultural field to peddle their reactionary ideology and moral decadence in ever new guises. We must be aware that the cultural changes in our society do not take the form of steps to be taken once and for all but are by their very nature prolonged, *qualitative* transformations. They comprise many aspects—ideological, moral, psychological, educational, esthetic and others—and have a bearing on all factors of human life.

Literature and art can play an essential role in creating the intellectual wealth of Socialist society, in developing and consolidating its moral values.

The Eighth Party Congress has set forth a number of important tasks for the further development of Socialist culture, especially for the development of art and literature and their connections with the requirements of the working class and the entire people, who call for rich cultural experiences and the change to engage in creative work themselves.

Some artists and writers have asked whether we have abandoned the principles of the "Bitterfeld Road", since this term was not mentioned at the Eighth Party Congress. This is not true by any means. The Leninist principles of linking art to the life of the people, of partisanship and solidarity with the people are, now as before, the unshakable foundation of our Socialist cultural development. They were expressly confirmed at the Eighth Party Congress. If we are somewhat reluctant to use the term "Bitterfeld Road" this is motivated by the consideration—which, incidentally, was a characteristic feature of the Party Congress in general—that we should proceed from the universal laws and experiences of the Socialist revolution in the field of ideology and culture.

In the resolution of the Party Congress we have expressly confirmed that "the policy of the party in the field of culture and art is based on the Leninist principles of partisanship and solidarity with the people. The party will always trustfully assist the artists in their effort.

The new works of our Socialist literature and art will be the more effective in the life of the people the better writers, artists and folk artists manage to understand, and give convincing expression to, the wealth of ideas, creativeness and feelings of the working class and the entire people."²³

To fulfil this great demand made on our Socialist literature and art we also expect the scholars concerned with literature and the arts to make important contributions. On this way, they will become an effective intellectual force if they combine a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and the abundant intellectual requirements and interests of the people with the ability to think creatively and penetrate deeply into the problems of artistic development. The principles of partisanship and solidarity with the people also apply to their work.

²³) Documents of the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Berlin 1971, p. 34/35.

All attacks by our enemies are based on the allegation that Socialist realism is determined by considerations other than artistic, while the problems of active creativeness are neglected. However, artistic creativeness can nowhere else become as active as relevant to society as in a Socialist realistic art destined for Socialist society. Socialist realism is an artistic method characterized by abundance and variety rather than narrowness. It is becoming more and more necessary to devote attention to theoretical investigations into such aspects as the active interpretation of the world, by the means of art, the exploratory aspect of art, imagination, and the individual's scope in the search for new artistic formulas and in the elaboration of new ethical and aesthetic ideals.

The great artistic appeal of Socialist realism lies in the great scope it offers for intellectual and aesthetic innovations which are firmly rooted in the links with the best traditions of international art. These innovations would be impossible if artists were to travel along the road of modernism, which would take them nowhere.

What we need is a closer relationship between art and the life of the people. By the same token, we need closer connections between the life of the people—i.e. the great majority of workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals—and the works of art. Both require a well-founded, partisan and understandable criticism of literature and art. This is a key problem. We cannot do without comradely, matter-of-fact arguments on new works, without the well-substantiated assessment of all the pros and cons involved.

On the national question

The statements made by the Eighth Party Congress on the question of the nation is a model of the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Marx, Engels and Lenin proved that the Socialist revolution leads to a radical transformation of all forms of existence of human society and causes revolutionary changes also in the concept of nation, which is placed on a new basis. Seizing political power, the proletariat acquires the status of a national class and constitutes itself as the nation, as is explained in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

All our experienc in ideological work has proved that any assess-

ment of the national question, the emergence and development of a nation must be based on the class content of the latter. Any attitude that tends to ignore or obscure the class character of the national question and treats the concept of nation as something permanent, something unchangeable will fail to grasp the historical truth. Like all social categories, that of nation is neither timeless nor independent of concrete social conditions. It is clearly a product of social development, a product of the class struggle, subject-like everything else in history—to the objective laws of society.

The emergence of Socialist nations is a manifestation of the international revolutionary process of our times; it reflects the main content and the main trends of historical developments in the world of today. It is a part of the epoch of transition from capitalism to Socialism ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment of the Soviet state and the successful building of Socialism in the Soviet Union have created the historic model for the emergence of a completely new type of nations—Socialist nations—and for fundamentally new relations between them. As a result of the transition from capitalism to Socialism on German soil this process began in our country, too, in accordance with the laws of history. The problems connected with the emergence and development of Socialist nations can only be approached correctly if they are not viewed as isolated questions confined to the national scale, but are seen in a wider international context and correctly linked with the world-wide class struggle between Socialism and imperialism.

The Socialist nation developing in the GDR is characterized by the fraternal alliance of our state and its citizens with the Soviet Union and other Socialist states and by its firm integration into the Socialist community of states, the main revolutionary force of our epoch. Increasingly close cooperation and interplay with the other Socialist nations, rather than some kind of "national seclusion", are characteristic of the Socialist nation developing in the GDR.

The further development of all features of the Socialist nation in the GDR, the continued unfolding of our Socialist state is inseparably connected with the further development of the alliance between the GDR and the Soviet Union and the other states of the Socialist community.

The assessment of the present level of our development and our future tasks given by the Eighth Party Congress permits us to out-

line some fundamental questions and current aspects of the Socialist nation developing in the GDR. The decisive feature of this developing Socialist nation is that state power is exercised by the working class and its allies, the class of cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working strata. The leading role assumed by the working class ultimately stamps all traits inherent in the Socialist nation and determines its qualitative difference from the bourgeois nation. While in a bourgeois nation the majority of the people is excluded from any decisions affecting the fate of the nation, it is in Socialism that the working class and its allies become masters of their own lives for the first time.

Another essential factor influencing the development of the Socialist nation in the GDR is the Socialist state, which exercises full sovereignty; its territory and its borders are clearly defined and reliably protected. The inviolability of the GDR as a Socialist state is firmly and permanently guaranteed by its membership of the Warsaw Treaty, by the Treaty on Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Cooperation concluded between the USSR and the GDR and similar treaties of the GDR with the other countries of the Socialist community.

The economic basis of the developing Socialist nation is determined by the socialization of the principal means of production and by the victory of Socialist relations of production. While a bourgeois nation is characterized by the exploitation of the overwhelming majority by a tiny ruling minority—the owners of the means of production—and by the resulting economic anarchy and social insecurity, the Socialist nation is characterized by the abolition of any kind of exploitation and suppression, by a planned development of the productive forces and of the entire society on the basis of Socialist relations of production.

While the bourgeois nation is characterized by the predominance of the bourgeois ideology and while it is tainted (especially in the phase of decaying capitalism) by anti-communism, chauvinism, racism and various other forms of barbarism, the Socialist nation is characterized by the systematic spreading and acceptance of Socialist ways of thinking and acting, mainly as a result of the constantly increasing influence of Marxism-Leninism.

Speaking of the characteristic features of the Socialist nation we must not forget, either, to stress the fact that the ideas of Socialist internationalism and international friendship constitute an essen-

tial force in the people's thoughts and deeds. Staunch Socialist solidarity with all peoples assaulted or threatened by imperialism, with the working class in the imperialist and other capitalist states, with the national liberation movement and with all forces of peace on our globe is another characteristic trait of our society.

Clarification of the national question in history and clarification of the problems connected with the emergence of the Socialist nation in the GDR and with the integration of the GDR in the Socialist community of states are of great importance for the further deepening of the political consciousness of GDR citizens, all the more since these questions are more and more coming to the fore in the fight against various kinds of anti-communism and nationalism.

The ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie and the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders in the FRG are fond of talking about the alleged continued existence of a uniform German nation. But history has already settled that question. A bourgeois nation continues to exist in the FRG, torn as it is by interior class conflicts and marked by the exploitation and suppression of the working people and by aggressive schemes directed against other peoples. There, the classes that have repeatedly plunged our people into disaster under the demagogic pretext of acting in the interest of the nation are still in power, now as before. These forces are doing their utmost to lead the masses astray as they did before.

They are trying to disguise the true essence of their regime, which is profoundly hostile to the interests of the people, and resort to "all sorts of demagogic tricks"—big words about "general human considerations" and "interests of the entire nation"—in their efforts to win leeway for their ideological diversion against the GDR. The nationalist demagoguery of imperialist circles and right-wing Social-Democratic leaders in the FRG is nothing but an updated attempt to realize, through a backdoor, as it was, their old plans of diversion and expansion vis-à-vis the Socialist German Democratic Republic.

As the recently published book "Nationalismus als deutsches Problem" (Nationalism as a German Problem) put it, nationalism has the function of an "integrationist ideology" within the framework of the political plans and of the imperialist policy of ruling circles in the FRG. It is particularly suited to this purpose, since nationalism can be "adapted to any situation, and can assume

nearly every form. The fluid, vague, sometimes almost indefinable nature of its content represents . . . the strength of nationalism".²⁴⁾

The Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has charged social scientists with the task of fighting convincingly against bourgeois nationalism, among other things, in their theoretical and ideological work. Besides anti-communism, nationalism is the second main line along which FRG imperialism is waging its struggle against Socialism in the GDR.

The further political, economic, ideological and military consolidation of the GDR as an integral part of the Socialist community of states, as it was demanded in the resolution of the Eighth Party Congress, will provide a firm guarantee for the continued development of the Socialist nation in the GDR. Nobody and nothing will stop the people of the GDR from proceeding consistently on its road into the future as a Socialist nation, allied to the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Socialist community.

Problems of the world revolutionary process

The Eighth Party Congress devoted considerable attention to the questions of international developments, to the changes in the international balance of forces and to the struggle between Socialism and capitalism. The report of the Central Committee underlined our party's full support for the assessment made by the Moscow conference of the Communist and worker's parties and by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU.

In its entire policy, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany proceeds from the fact that it is part of the world Communist movement and that the GDR is a dependable member of the Socialist community of states. All our activities are aimed at contributing to the further consolidation of the world Socialist system in the international struggle between Socialism and imperialism.

For all these reasons our theoretical work with regard to all issues of international development is becoming more and more important. Thorough research into the laws of present-day world revolutionary processes must be high on the list of priorities facing our historians, philosophers and economists. The most important laws governing the struggle against imperialism include the vital

²⁴⁾ Christian Graf von Kroekow, *Nationalismus als deutsches Problem*, Munich, 1970, p. 24.

role of the world Socialist system for the revolutionary struggle in all parts of the world, and the growing role of the working class both on the national and international levels.

The rapid expansion of class battles in the imperialist countries is of high significance for the world revolutionary process. Never before has the scope of the militant actions of the working class and the other working people against imperialist policies been so broad. On the other hand, a considerable part of the workers and other working people in the major capitalist countries is still being influenced by the social-reformist and bourgeois ideology. It is important, therefore, to pay much attention to the struggle against reactionary bourgeois ideologies.

The Eighth Party Congress has urged GDR social scientists to "expose completely and effectively the inhuman nature of imperialism. In doing so, the Leninist theory of imperialism—which also lays bare the roots and nature of opportunism—will be our intellectual tool".²⁵⁾ For those studying the nature of imperialism from the angle of Marxism-Leninism in the GDR this means, above all, to make a contribution to the continued investigation into the laws of imperialism and their operation under the present conditions of class struggle within the capitalist-countries and on an international scale. The development of everyday class struggle has amply confirmed that Lenin's theory of imperialism is as correct and valid as ever. It is necessary, therefore, to reject consistently all attacks directed against the Leninist theory, in whatever form.

Lenin characterized imperialism as decaying, moribund capitalism, as the final stage of capitalism. He described state-monopoly capitalism as the complete material preparation for Socialism. Do not the aggravated fundamental contradictions, both economic and political, the enormous waste of productive forces on wars, and aggressive schemes, the growing unemployment and social insecurity, the sharpening class antagonism, and rapidly spreading violence, crime and moral decay supply ample evidence of the correctness of this analysis even under present conditions?

Day by day it is becoming more evident that imperialism is incapable of solving the vital issues facing mankind. The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is becoming more and more

²⁵⁾ Report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, given by Comrade Erich Honecker, p. 97.

evident. Increasing instability and crises in the economy, monetary crises, inflation, aggravation of contradictions and of the economic war between the imperialist countries, and growing unemployment in the United States, Great Britain and the capitalist countries over long periods—all these supply ample evidence that all imperialist hopes of overcoming the fundamental contradictions and stabilizing the imperialist system are built on sand. The progressing internationalization of monopoly capital is coupled, under imperialist conditions, with an intensification of the unbalanced economic and political development.

Along with the political and economic contradictions and crises there is a rapid aggravation of the moral crisis of imperialism, of intellectual manipulation, of racial antagonisms, of violence and brutality. All these phenomena, taken together, confirm the historical inevitability of the general crisis of capitalism and its constant deepening.

We are not forgetting, either, that imperialism still has a considerable economic and scientific and technological potential at its command, nor do we overlook the fact that scientific and technological progress has accelerated in several branches over the past decade. However, the Marxist-Leninist prediction that profit-seeking and a policy of aggression cannot be reconciled with social security and prosperity for the working people—irrespective of whether production is increasing or decreasing—has also been amply proved.

Another important problem of Marxist-Leninist research into the nature of imperialism is the analysis of the sources of the aggressiveness of contemporary imperialism.

One reason why it is so urgent to demonstrate the aggressive nature of imperialism, especially that of imperialism in the FRG, lies in the fact that at present imperialist ideologists and Social-Democratic politicians alike are trying to make people believe that imperialism has lost its aggressive character. To substantiate this allegation they point to the treaties concluded by the FRG government with the governments of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic, to the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, and to the fact that western politicians are now considering certain international questions in a more realistic manner.

It is a fundamental characteristic of present-day international class struggle that imperialism is trying to adapt its aggressive

policies to the new conditions that have arisen while at the same time stepping up its attacks against Socialism and the international workers' movement, especially in the ideological field. In this connection we must not forget that the ruling circles of the FRG and the right-wing Social-Democratic leaders are strengthening the industrial and military set-up in the country, the Bundeswehr (Federal Army—transl.) and their influence in NATO, while at the same time intensifying economic expansion and ideological diversion.

The Bonn government and its mass media, especially the Springer chain, have recently intensified their anti-communist campaigns of hatred, notably their propaganda against the GDR. They are trying to take the negotiations under way between the GDR and FRG on the conclusion of a transport agreement, or a transit agreement, as an opportunity for infringing upon, and restricting, the sovereign rights of the GDR. By means of various manoeuvres and attempts at blackmail they are trying to make West Berlin a part of the FRG contrary to the stipulations of the Quadripartite Agreement. All these attempts show that the ruling circles in the FRG and the rightwing Social-Democratic leaders obviously need to think very hard about the real situation in Europe and about the constellation of forces in the world, whereas we must be on our guard and should not leave room for any illusions regarding imperialism.

Any investigation into, and revelation of, the nature of imperialism and the operation of its laws at the present time must always be connected with a consistent and effective struggle against all reactionary bourgeois ideologies, including Social-Democratism, right-wing and left-wing revisionism. This implies that the analysis of the concrete forms of the connection between imperialism and opportunism – which Lenin had already discovered – assumes special importance.

Anti-communism is the essential characteristic common to the various forms of bourgeois ideology, Social-Democratism, revisionism, and Maoism. It is the common ideological platform of all enemies of Socialism, the international workers' movement and the national liberation movement. In the ideological field we must fight more energetically against concepts based on more refined variants of anti-communism. Lenin stated that the theoretical victory of Marxism over the other Socialist schools forced its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists; from this we may deduce that,

under the present conditions, the practical victory of Socialism has forced its enemies to pose as Socialists and "reformers" of Socialism. In doing so, they resort to the method of reviving nationalist concepts, posing as advocates of "general human values". The ultimate aim of all their "suggestions for the improvement of Socialism" invariably consists in undermining the basis of Socialism and the unity of the Socialist community of states. To combat all these "reformers of Socialism", we must succeed in explaining, in a theoretically comprehensive and convincing manner, the class character of Socialism and its internationalist character.

Social scientists and propagandists bear a high responsibility for exposing and defeating all attempts at ideological diversion made by the enemy, and for improving class vigilance. The events in Czechoslovakia have taught us that the enemies of Socialism, in their attacks against the Marxist-Leninist party and the workers' and farmers' state always endeavour to smuggle revisionist and anti-socialist ideas into the ideological and cultural fields, to undermine the unity of Marxism-Leninism, and to substitute the poison of bourgeois nationalism and anti-communism for proletarian internationalism. For this reason, maximum vigilance and maximum activity is required on the ideological front, more than anywhere else.

The growing unity of the three revolutionary main trends is a characteristic feature of developments in our epoch. This involves mainly the growing role of the Soviet Union and the Socialist community of states, the consolidation of the unity of the world Communist movement, the emergence of the most effective forms of cooperation among the Communist and workers' parties on an international level, in accordance with the contemporary conditions of class struggle and the higher level reached in the development of the Communist movement.

Complex processes of differentiation and development are at present going on in the newly liberated states of Asia and Africa. The advance of the national liberation movement, the development of many emerging countries, and the non-capitalist path adopted by some states have also contributed to deepening the general crisis of capitalism and changing the international balance of forces in favour of Socialism.

A concrete, differentiated approach to the various countries and an analysis of the interior contradictions marking their social

development, especially an analysis of classes and class interests, are called for if the developments going on in these countries are to be assessed correctly.

The Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU stated:

"The main thing is that *the struggle for national liberation has practically begun, in many countries, to grow into a struggle against the conditions of exploitation, both feudal and capitalist.*"²⁶) The specific situation in these areas is characterized by the fact that the proletariat is comparatively weakly developed and that the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie have actually assumed the role of the mass force needed within the national liberation movement. Consequently, it is usually representatives of the middle classes that have assumed leadership in the revolutionary movement. It would be naive to look forward to the victory of Socialism under conditions when representatives of the middle strata exercise leadership. On the other hand it appears that many of these forces, provided that they have close links with the masses and assess interior and exterior factors correctly, are capable of solving many of the tasks that help pave the way that may eventually lead to the Socialist revolution.

It is obviously necessary to analyse this process with all its contradictions even more thoroughly in our scientific work. In propaganda and teaching we must show up the entire dialectics of the development processes more clearly than hitherto. If this is done, everybody will have a better understanding for the course of the class struggle, and also for its aggravation in many emerging countries, and will not be surprised to witness bourgeois, nationalist and anti-socialist forces raising their ugly head.

Our struggle against Maoism

According to the assessment given by the Eighth Congress of our party the policy of the Chinese leadership seriously hampers the consolidation of the unity of the Socialist states and the Communist movement as a whole as well as the alliance of all anti-imperialist forces, too. Developments in recent months have borne out this assessment. The Chinese leaders have begun to step up their anti-socialist and anti-Soviet activities in order to overcome their inter-

²⁶) Report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU given by L. I. Brezhnev, p. 25 (transl. from the German).

national isolation by adopting a more flexible tactics and pretending to "fight against the super-powers", and to wage new and even more insidious attacks against the fraternal alliance linking the Socialist countries with the Soviet Union and the Communist and workers' parties with the CPSU. Peking's flirt with Washington and the exploitation of certain nationalist deviations from the proletarian class standpoint occurring within the world revolutionary movement are at present in the centre of the international policy pursued by the Chinese leaders. U.S. imperialism for its part, in its frantic endeavour to resolve its profound crisis and maintain its role as the imperialist police of the world is giving increasing support to these efforts by the Chinese leaders. The plans of the Peking leaders to establish an anti-Soviet bloc together with the United States have, however, been upset by the arrangement of a visit by President Nixon to the USSR.

In our present struggle against Maoism we must proceed from the consideration that this is a political and ideological current fundamentally hostile to Marxism-Leninism and to the common line worked out by the international Communist movement.

At the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China the Chinese leaders virtually denied the validity of Leninism for our epoch. They described the assertion of Maoism as the declared aim of their policy vis-à-vis the world revolutionary movement. The anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist character of Maoism is clearly shown in the fact that it virtually negates and falsifies the historic mission of the international working class and the role of the Communist parties as the vanguard of the working class; that it belittles the role of the masses and misinterprets Socialist democracy; that it is fighting against Socialism as it really exists; and that it denies and falsifies the general laws governing the construction of Socialist society and other fundamental questions of our time. The anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist character of Maoism is at present mainly borne out by the fact that it is the political and ideological platform of the policy of great-power chauvinism, hegemony and anti-Sovietism practised by the Chinese leaders, and that it serves as the political and ideological basis of the further aggravation of the hostile course pursued by these forces vis-à-vis the leading Socialist power, the strongest Socialist power—the Soviet Union—and also as the basis of the increasingly anti-Soviet tendency of their international policies.

The anti-Sovietism of the Chinese leaders is objectively playing into the hands of anti-communists. Maoism, by its very nature, is a reactionary ideology. It has aligned itself with imperialists, right-wing Social-Democrats, revisionists and Trotskyites against the Soviet Union, the Socialist community of states and the world Communist movement.

For these reasons, the struggle against Maoism must henceforth devote more attention to the fact that the nature and the goals of Maoism are directly opposed to the views of Marxism-Leninism on such basic questions as the international class battle between Socialism and imperialism, the construction of a Socialist society, and the need for a common strategy and tactics of the international Communist movement.

The ideology and policies of the Mao group are favourable for imperialism as they strengthen the hopes of its most reactionary and aggressive circles to preserve their position and change the international balance of forces in their favour. At the same time they not only represent a virtual encouragement to the development of nationalist and opportunist tendencies in the various detachments of the world revolutionary movement but are by now directly meant to stimulate such tendencies and foster an anti-Soviet and, ultimately, pro-Maoist political line. It is, therefore, an important task to prove through scientific research into Maoism that there is an objective correlation between imperialism and Maoism, between Maoism and other variants of petty-bourgeois nationalism and contemporary opportunism.

In doing so, we shall always proceed from the fact that the increasing ideological struggle against Maoism is a necessary condition for consolidating the unity of all revolutionary forces in the anti-imperialist struggle. At the same time the GDR, just like the other Socialist countries, is always trying to improve official relations with the People's Republic of China.

Planning and management of the social sciences

In the report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Party Congress Comrade Honecker emphasized that what we need now is an atmosphere of creativity and intelligent, unbureaucratic management, which will stimulate the achievement of scientific results.

Applied to the field of the social sciences, we interpret this as meaning rich intellectual life that will give full scope to scientific argumentation, a genuine team-spirit and Socialist teamwork.

To bring about such an atmosphere is, first of all, a fundamental ideological problem, which is directly connected with the fundamental attitude of Socialist scientists and their responsibility for Socialism. The Party Congress underlined the role of science in the development of Socialism and expressed the great confidence placed in the scientists of this country. Everybody knows that responsibilities grow in the same measure as the tasks to be solved. To face up to these responsibilities presupposes a high degree of political consciousness. What we need is a creative approach to scientific work. This is true especially of scientific argumentation, which is an indispensable element of scientific research.

After all, the results achieved by scientists can only be verified in an atmosphere allowing for all questions to be asked in a frank and partisan manner, an atmosphere characterized by personal commitment of scientists to the cause of Socialism and by comradely mutual assistance. Only in an atmosphere like this can the responsibility of individuals and the responsibility of teams grow and Socialist scientists fulfil themselves.

We have not, however, achieved this high stage everywhere, as yet. Genuine arguments are often avoided for a variety of reasons, frequently as a result of petty-bourgeois attitudes. Dogmatism, subjectivism and arrogance hinder scientific discussions.

We must be very careful to prevent the authority of certain scientists and institutions from having negative effects. No useful purpose is served if certain research results and publications are automatically considered taboo, if the habit is allowed to develop not to discuss publications any more. This will stifle scientific argumentation. We are defending the purity and unity of Marxism-Leninism without making any concessions, but this does not mean that various open problems cannot or should not be discussed.

Another obstacle to bringing about a creative atmosphere is a certain restraint exercised out of inappropriate group solidarity. Genuine comradeship, and scientific results, too, can only develop if a high degree of personal commitment and a principled approach are coupled with a correspondingly high respect—political, moral, and scientific—for the partner with whom we are working in the common effort to reach a certain result.

I have given so much attention to the question of scientific argumentation because it must play an important role in scientific life, because it must become a regular habit of, and a direct necessity for, every social scientist. Scientific argumentation must be made an integral part of our theoretical and intellectual work, an element of the search for optimum solutions.

If we make a serious effort to improve the planning and management of the social sciences, we shall have to give priority to ensuring lively creative activity in all fields. This makes it imperative for every manager to think anew about the question how this demand can quickly and thoroughly be realized in his practical management activities.

By the same token, the scientific councils must function as centres of scientific life and help to organize creative scientific debates systematically. They can do so mainly by focussing their attention on the central theoretical problems. We appreciate that the councils and their leaders go to the very heart of political and scientific life, that their members make personal appearances in various institutions, taking the floor in the discussions held there. Such a style of work makes it imperative for the members of the councils to face up to their responsibility as social scientists in the widest sense of the word, not only as experts in their own field of research.

The councils should also influence the development of manifold and varied forms of argumentation. Debates within teams of scientists in the process of research will result in individuals or teams publishing papers of a high standard.

Several scientific periodicals have managed to improve the quality of papers published and the standard of polemics against enemy views. However, polemics among our own social scientists are still the exception. This state of affairs must be changed by the editorial boards and with the help of the scientific councils, so that the journals no longer neglect their primary function, viz. to serve as forums of public discussion and scientific argumentation. The review columns should be enlarged in all journals.

Another very important question is the way we are making use of Soviet experience in this respect. At present, we are paying too little attention to discussions held in the Soviet Union on important theoretical questions, not to mention our failure to make use of the chance of contributing to such discussions ourselves. Every

scientific council should study the content and the method of scientific argumentations among Soviet social scientists and draw the necessary conclusions for its own work. Generally speaking, the influence of the councils should be brought to bear, so as to make more extensive use of the experience and knowledge of Soviet scientists.

We have every reason seriously to consider the advice of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev who stated that the expert application of the wealth of collective experience gathered in the construction of Socialism in every fraternal country is of eminent benefit and saves us unnecessary search for solutions that have already been discovered by other people, just as mistakes and errors committed by others need not be repeated again. This principle must guide us in considering the question of stepping up cooperation with the Soviet social scientists. Let me emphasize at this point that every social scientist, every team and every managing body has a vast responsibility for making full use of the results achieved by Soviet social scientists in research and teaching, and for developing the cooperation between scientists and institutions of our two countries.

Naturally, we have made progress in this question in recent years. Our party institutes and other institutions are maintaining stable relations with their Soviet partners. Since the beginning of 1971 there has been an agreement between the Academies of Sciences of our two countries in which a number of questions of cooperation between academies and other social scientific institutions have been settled centrally. The party college, the Institute of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism have also concluded agreements with their Soviet partner institutions. The implementation of these agreements must result in a higher level of cooperation, especially in more effective cooperation on important research projects of the social sciences.

Let me put it quite frankly: We shall establish relations of genuine partnership only in those fields where we prove our ability for cooperation through our own high-quality scientific achievements. This presupposes full ideological clarity in this respect, and the overcoming of certain persisting reservations, tendencies of disdain or presumption vis-à-vis the Soviet sciences. This cooperation and the full exploitation of the wealth of experience of the Soviet sciences are among the main prerequisites for making

optimum use of our own potential in social sciences research work and for further improving the theoretical level of our work.

The tasks facing our social scientists after the Eighth Party Congress generally demand increased efforts for making the planning and management of social sciences research projects more effective. What we have in mind is not perfectionism, but practicable answers to the following questions:

- How can the principle of central planning and management be most effectively handled and even better reconciled with the individual responsibility of the various sections and institutes?
- How can a greater effectiveness of theoretical work and a higher level of cooperation with Soviet social scientists be ensured?
- How can the authority and effectiveness of the scientific councils be further enhanced and a creative working atmosphere be achieved everywhere?

In answering these questions we must naturally consider the concrete results and experience made in the past three years when implementing the 22 October 1968 resolution of the Politburo on the development of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences in the GDR.

Proceeding from the growing importance of ideological and theoretical work, the October 1968 resolution has initiated measures to improve management and coordination, which were logically based on the principle that the party determines the content of the work performed in the field of the social sciences. Priorities have been stipulated, central pilot institutions and scientific councils set up, and the practical requirements of the construction of a Socialist society were unequivocally given a central role in the work of social scientists.

The scientific councils were most successful in those places where their work was preceded by a clarification of the fundamental theoretical questions involved and of the social mission of scientific work.

Comrades from the history sections of the universities, for example, have stated that the work of the Council for Historical Studies has had a positive influence on their own research and teaching work and has stimulated them to draw certain conclusions.

On the other hand, the work of the Scientific Council for Philo-

sophical Research—to give just one example—has shown that neither the orientation towards the concrete requirements of the political and ideological struggle nor the definition of concepts or the development of scientific argumentation have been sufficiently developed so far.

In other fields, too, the results achieved with regard to implementing the October 1968 resolution differ widely. In spite of all progress made we cannot ignore that there are still considerable, and in several cases unjustifiably large differences in the work performed. Let me emphasize in this connection that the way leading to a change, to a high level of efficiency in all fields is not via administrative management methods but requires and presupposes genuine leadership in terms of content.

Discussions on these questions must proceed from the idea that the necessity of defining the content of the social sciences derives from their role and function in an advanced Socialist society. As the theoretical, political and ideological instrument of the working class and its party, they assume an increasingly crucial importance in the life of Socialist society, especially in the emergence and development of Socialist modes of thinking and acting. From this follows that we shall continue to adhere strictly to the principle of the party determining the content of the social sciences.

In the future, the central research plan for the social sciences will be an important means of putting this principle into practice. This plan will—in accordance with a decision adopted by the Secretariat of the Central Committee—be drafted by December of each year and submitted to the leading bodies of the party for approval.

On the basis of the tasks contained in the decisions and documents of the party we must take care, in drafting the plan, that it centres on the basic concepts and key tasks of research work in the social sciences during the current Five-Year-Plan period. This means the research plan must, in particular, define

- the key topics and research complexes for interdisciplinary research;
- the main tasks for the various disciplines of the social sciences up to 1975;
- the planning of major conferences of social scientists, publications and textbooks during this period;

– and the tasks to be solved for improving personnel policy especially the development of junior scientific staff.

In solving all these tasks we should never forget that what we have in mind are reliable and well-substantiated answers to the questions which are raised by actual social development, by life itself.

Undoubtedly it will be necessary for the plan to lay down precisely who is responsible for putting these central tasks into practice. Likewise, the plan should be drafted in such a way that it can serve as the basis for detailed planning in the various branches and spheres of the social sciences.

In this connection we consider it to be absolutely vital for the universities and colleges, the German Academy of Sciences and the other institutions concerned with the social sciences to assume a higher degree of responsibility. Central planning and management is by no means contradictory to the necessary encouragement of responsible creative work at the various institutions. On the contrary, only the correct combination of both aspects of management will enable us really to exhaust the research potential available.

Research at university institutions should devote a considerable part of its material and human potential to the preparation of textbooks. Though in recent years several gaps have been filled, we must state that at present neither the quality nor the quantity of the existing textbooks on the social sciences is satisfactory, with few exceptions. We need a much broader variety of textbooks. The development of scientific life and scientific argumentation will definitely be promoted if several textbooks are prepared in the same field, and if the tendency is overcome to restrict the responsibility of university teachers to making "contributions" to central projects.

This also implies that the responsibility assumed by the Ministry for Higher Education for research work in the social sciences must not be restricted but increased. The Ministry is fully responsible for the further development of research at the universities, for ensuring the necessary educational advance and especially for the preparation of university textbooks of a high theoretical level. Care must also be taken, in this connection, to guarantee a correct balance between the concentration of the material and human potential on priority tasks on the one hand and the necessary broad scope of work in the social sciences on the other. There are

many disciplines, e.g. papyrus research, whose capacity is understandably limited, but in the social sciences there are no unimportant branches. We therefore categorically oppose any indifference or contempt for a particular field of science.

Finally, the improvement of the theoretical level of the social sciences makes it imperative for the scientific councils and the various pilot institutions to work together much more closely. The work hitherto done by the scientific councils and by the pilot institutions, parallel rather than integrated, is not yet in keeping with this demand. All agreements hitherto reached with regard to questions of planning and management and with regard to interdisciplinary cooperation have mostly been sporadic. In connection with the drafting of the research plan, we must, therefore, carefully analyse ways and means of overcoming the limitations of a planning and management system exclusively determined by the requirements of the science in question, and of replacing it by coordinated cooperation between scientific councils and pilot institutions.

These are some of the essential problems facing research work in the social sciences and the planning and management of this work. I will not here speak about questions of training, as they will undoubtedly be discussed later on in our debates.

I have tried to explain some theoretical problems of the Eighth Party Congress. To exploit the whole theoretical wealth of the Party Congress in connection with the findings of the Twenty-fourth Congress of the CPSU and the research results of other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties—that is the task now facing our social scientists.

In this connection, we proceed from the assumption that as the Socialist society develops, class struggle sharpen and the world revolutionary movement grows, new problems will arise and our previous knowledge will be deepened and changed too. This is an entirely natural process of cognition, of the emergence and development of scientific knowledge. In the course of this development, certain theories will have to be abandoned that have proved unsatisfactory in practice, for practice will always remain the touchstone of all our scientific theories. The main thing, however, is constantly to make constructive and creative efforts for solving the problems—theoretical and practical—that the Eighth Congress of our party has set forth, the problems that will arise as a result of social developments. The Eighth Party Congress has set an ex-

ample for this creative, constructive approach to the questions of Marxist-Leninist theory and to the complex problems of our practical work. The gigantic tasks set by the Party Congress make it imperative for all social scientists, too, to make maximum efforts in research and teaching. We are convinced that the struggle for the further improvement of the level of theoretical work, for the creative analysis of current problems of our Socialist society will be successful in all fields.

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